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ROLE OF COMMUNICATION NETWORKS IN INTERGROUP CONFLICTS

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Abstract. *The research background relates to the intergroup conflicts involving some street gangs in Johar Baru Sub District, Central Jakarta. Most of the street gangs in Johar Baru Sub District have each territory. Small matters from mocking one another, miscommunication to rumors which jeopardize the power of the street gangs, can trigger a serious thing: brawls with high fatality rate for several days. The research aims to analyze the pattern of rivalry and alliance network established among the street gangs. This study uses a quantitative approach. The research methods analyzed ego-centered communication networks. After analyzing the communication networks, the inter-group mapping was obtained and in turn, it would be useful as a means of a communication intervention to reduce and prevent inter-group conflicts. Data collection was carried out in a kind of a census towards 40 street gangs in Johar Baru Sub-District and it got the support of the in-depth interviews with several key informants. Research results shows: the communication networks analysis reveal that rivalry and alliance among the street gangs have positioned Gembrong street gang as the centre of rivalry and alliance with the radial communication pattern indices of low network density (10.71 for the rivalry network; 0.00 for the alliance network) and low network closure (0.10 for rivalry network and 0.00 for alliance network). This research contributes to identify which groups have a bigger role in intergroup conflicts.*

Keywords: Network, Communication, Intergroup Conflict, Alliance, Rivalry

Abstrak. Latar belakang penelitian ini adalah persistensi konflik antarkelompok yang melibatkan sejumlah geng jalanan di Kecamatan Johar Baru, Jakarta Pusat. Sebagian besar geng jalanan di Kecamatan Johar Baru berbasis teritorial. Dengan demikian, geng-geng tersebut memiliki wilayah kekuasaan tersendiri. Dipicu oleh perkara kecil, misalnya saling ejek, miskomunikasi, atau desas-desus, dapat memantik pada hal serius: tawuran antarkelompok dengan tingkat fatalitas tinggi. Berdasarkan hal tersebut, tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis pola jaringan permusuhan/rivalitas dan pertemanan/aliansi yang terbentuk di antara geng jalanan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kuantitatif. Metode yang digunakan adalah analisis jaringan komunikasi yang berpusat pada ego. Dengan analisis jaringan komunikasi, maka diperoleh pemetaan antarkelompok yang pada akhirnya bermanfaat sebagai sarana intervensi komunikasi untuk mengurangi dan mencegah konflik antarkelompok. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan cara sensus terhadap 40 geng jalanan di Kecamatan Johar Baru yang diperkuat dengan wawancara mendalam kepada sejumlah informan kunci. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pada jaringan permusuhan dan pertemanan, kelompok Gembrong menjadi titik sentral, namun dengan pola jaringan komunikasi radial, yang diindikasikan dengan rendahnya nilai kepadatan jaringan (10.71 untuk jaringan permusuhan; 0.00 untuk jaringan pertemanan) dan ketertutupan jaringan (0.10 untuk jaringan permusuhan dan 0.00 jaringan pertemanan). Penelitian ini memberi kontribusi pada identifikasi kelompok mana saja yang memiliki peran besar dalam konflik antarkelompok.

Kata Kunci: Jaringan, Komunikasi, Konflik Antarkelompok, Aliansi, Rivalitas



INTRODUCTION

Mauliate et al., (2014) have carried out the mapping of street gangs in Johar Baru Sub-District, and there were found as many as 40 street groups. They were street groups who frequently brawled in the Sub-District. Darmajanti (2013) stated that these groups result in poverty, unemployment, dense population, slums, social exclusion, and space in their dwelling place. According to Yasmine (2017), each group has an ally (the group of friends/alliance) and an enemy (opponents) who form a network of alliances and feuds. This reinforces the point of view of Bolden (2014) stating that every street group (gang) forms a social network.

Of the forty groups, most were found in *Kelurahan* Tanah Tinggi. These among others included the street gangs of Kota Paris (Kopar), Bhaladewa, Ghambrenk, Andepol, Velbak, Tamper, Abapon, Gang 10, Gang 12, Pingrel, Margalung, Amabrul, Anak Liar, LapOne, Caplin, and Bambu Kuning. Moreover, the gangs in *Kelurahan* Kampung Rawa were among others Gembrong, Gogat, Bonekar, Kuncir, Amunka, Bhengal, Sadigo, Gang T, Gading Gajah, and Kampung Rawa 2. In *Kelurahan* Galur, there were Madesu, Agapa, and Intan and in *Kelurahan* Johar Baru there were Jotet, Kramjay, Gempal, Bonawi, Oblack, and PBR. The networks among the gangs are formed in a kind of alliances and rivalries, and they usually pass through territorial boundaries. For example, Gembrong located in *Kelurahan* Galur could have an alliance with Jotet in *Kelurahan* Johar Baru, or Velbak in *Kelurahan* Tanah

Tinggi and Kramjay in *Kelurahan* Johar Baru. Gembrong in *Kelurahan* Kampung Rawa could have enemies, such as Bhengal Gang located in Tanah Tinggi or Gang T in Kampung Rawa had the enemy of Gemval Gang located in Johar Baru. As controlling certain territories, each gang can be easier to make enmity based on gang rivalry and conflict as shown in the research findings of Klein, Weerman, & Thornberry (2006). The existence of street gangs closely relates to the social processes in an area, and it leads to violence and conflict. This is in line with the point of view of Prihandono (2005) and Aminah (2015) about urban space and its relationship to conflict.

The street groups made the conflicts in Johar Baru District persistent. Tadie (2009) and (Sumarno, 2014) have confirmed and explained that conflicts have become a daily menu for residents in Johar Baru Sub-District. In one *Kelurahan*, i.e. Tanah Tinggi, the conflicts are very visible: intergroup and village brawls every day. Simone & Fauzan (2012) called that Tanah Tinggi was the most populous *Kelurahan* in Greater Jakarta. As one sleeps, he must change from one bed to another. With ethnic diversity and aging infrastructure, Tanah Tinggi is the poorest and most dangerous Village Administration (*Kelurahan*) in Greater Jakarta. Two other Village Administration (*Kelurahan*) in Johar Baru Subdistrict, i.e. Galur and Kampung Rawa, have had the same fate, and have been called the most conflict-prone *Kelurahan* in Greater Jakarta (BKBP, 2015).

Wirutomo (2016) explained that brawls in Johar Baru Sub District

occurred for structural, and cultural factors and the intertwined process. The structural factors relate to uncontrolled population density. Lack of land has made proper conditions for housing in Johar Baru Subdistrict very bad, and so the residents live in tightly packed houses. The cultural factors result in the social life in Johar Baru Sub District with the characteristics of "poverty culture" triggered by a structural poverty adaptation process that has existed for a long time. The fluid dynamics of daily interactions finally create a processual arena (Wirutomo & Darmajanti, 2017).

As referring to the opinion of Soeharto (2013), the conflicts in Johar Baru Sub District can be categorized as rural-urban minor social conflicts. These rural-urban minor social conflicts can also be included as local conflicts (Barron et al., 2009). Like inter-ethnic conflicts as stated by Fernando, Marta, & Sadono (2019), local conflicts also cause deep trauma. The local conflicts include land disputes, violence, or judgment, while the causes are no rule of the game at the local level, incompetent local leaders, and the absence of mediation. These cause the conflict to escalate. As confirmed in Darmajanti (2013), Tadjoeeddin (2002) states that the conflicts frequently occur in Johar Baru Sub District and these include the category of collective violence with the sub-category of civil commotion/ brawls, i.e. inter-village, inter-resident or inter-group clashes.

The researches on inter-group conflicts involving street groups have been frequently carried out. Firstly, Atkinson-Sheppard (2016) studied street gangs in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

The research results show that criminal organizations exploit children to join street gangs and turn them into drug dealers, extortionists, political violence, murder as well as conflicts with other street gangs. Secondly, Cohen (2018) studied street gangs in Chiangmai, Thailand. Thirdly, Chui & Khatani (2018) reviewed street gangs in Hong Kong. These researchers indicate that street gangs tend to be criminals and controlled by larger organizations. However, the three types of research on street gangs in Asia did not study how the communication network patterns were formed, both in forming alliances and rivalries.

This topic is interesting to study. Intergroup collective violence (brawls) has become routine violence and it is underestimated despite there are many victims for brawls, mass judgments, and beatings. How the inter-gang relationship in Johar Baru Sub District studied by Mauliate et al., (2014) uses a spatial approach. However, this research did not explain in detail how the patterns of rivalry and alliances occurred and who the actors played their role. As a research method, according to Eriyanto (2014), communication networks offer several advantages. Firstly, the communication network describes a process and so it can explain the process of forming a communication phenomenon or event. Secondly, it emphasizes the position of actors and the strength of actors in the social structure. Thirdly, it definitely can make comparisons of actors in the network or comparisons between different network structures. Fourthly, it describes changes in phenomena or communication events.

However, the communication network is not without its weaknesses. These weaknesses include: agents who can put actors in a passive position; cognition that does not pay attention to how the actor sees his position; lack of attention to the dynamics of network structures; and double hermeneutics.

The communication network in this research is used to map how groups work together in forming alliances (Descormiers & Morselli, 2011; Bolden, 2014). Moreover, communication networks are also used to map intergroup rivalries/competition (Papachristos et al., 2013) and intergroup information sharing (Bolden 2014). Wardyaningrum (2016) has stated that through communication networks we can see how the stages of information processing can be spread and who plays an important role in disseminating the information. This research uses an ego-centered communication network analysis as a tool to answer the research objectives, i.e. how the network patterns of intergroup or intergang hostility (rivalry) and friendships (alliances) are created in Johar Baru Sub District.

METHODOLOGY

An aspect of communication that the research wants to see is how each group builds alliances and how the relationship of their rivalry is created. It bases on the fact that when intergroup brawls occur, there are usually other groups that want to support the brawling groups. As answering the facts, the research uses

the communication network analysis of the ego-centered networks.

There are three lessons on why the research selects the ego-centered networks. Firstly, from the technical aspect of data collection, many group members shut their mouth up when the researchers search for information. Secondly, with the ego-centered networks, the researchers have assumed that the selected actors are important or it is appropriate to the research purposes as stated by Newman (2003) and Eriyanto (2014). Thirdly, the data process is easy and simple (Everett & Borgatti, 2005). For the data collection of the communication network analysis, the researchers carry out the census of 40 ego/group actors. The census bases on the questionnaire with the questions of generator names, such as who had become the alliances and rivalries of the informants. The format of the questions is free recall (Eriyanto, 2014) in which the informants are asked to mention the names of the groups in the networks of the alliances and rivalries without any pressure from anyone.

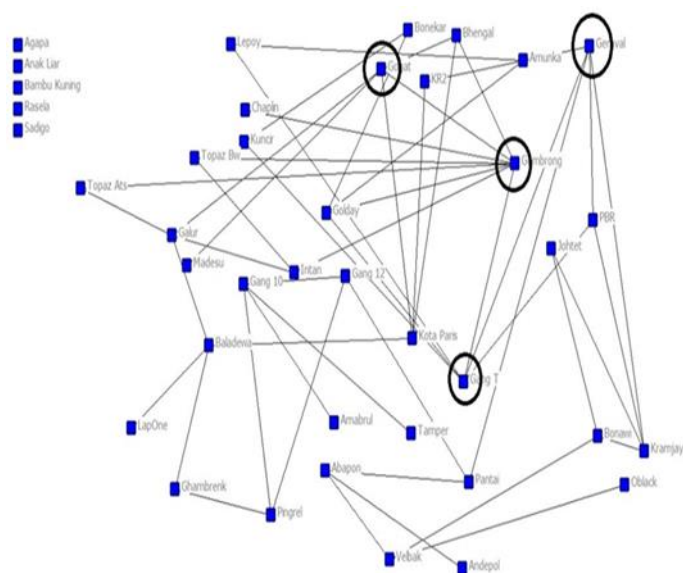
To support the data results of the communication network analysis, the in-depth interviews are carried out to some informants as the key actors in some brawls. The data processing of the research uses the UCINET 6 software which has some advantages, such as the identification of sub-groups, the analysis of roles as well as the measurements of network centrality (Apostolato, 2013).

As the spatial analysis was used, Mauliate et al., (2014) successfully found how the groups built the rivalries and alliances. However, the uses of the spatial methods did not uncover how the patterns of the rivalries and alliance happened. In other words, there was no group identification of which enemies or alliances. As overcoming the weakness, the research uses the communication network analysis of the ego-centered networks to identifying the networks of enemies and alliances.

How to find the intergroup hostility, in the initial phase the researchers had used the data from a local police station that had records on when the brawls occurred and what gangs had been involved. The weakness of the records did not specifically refer to the names of the groups. It only referred to residents at one Community Association (*Rukun Warga*) or the others. The challenge was to identify how many groups were located at one Citizen Association and which ones had hostility with the others. To support the identification process, the researchers contacted the opinion leaders in finding valid data on the existence of the groups and confirming the related groups. In the confirmation process, the rivalries network was not complete because there were scattered data. To complete the data, the researchers searched the records on the brawls at the secretariate of Neighborhood Administration (*Rukun Tetangga*), *Rukun Warga* and, *kelurahan*. The research results indicate that of 40 groups studied in the research, there

are only some groups that have enemies. From the sociogram of the rivalry network (Figure 1), it is shown that five groups (i.e. Agapa, Anak Liar, Bambu Kuning, Rasela and Sadigo) become isolate. In other words, they do not have any enemy.

Figure 1. The sociogram of rivalry networks



Source: Research results (2019)

Except for the five isolates, each group has enemies. At least one group as its enemy is shown between Andepol and Abapon, Tamper and Gang 10, LapOne and Baladewa, Chaplin and Gembrong, Oblak and Velbak as well as Madesu and Gogat. The sociogram of rivalry network also successfully shows four clusters of the rivalry network with the most enemies, i.e. the cluster of Gembrong, Gang T, Gemval, and Gogat. The enemies in the cluster of Gembrong are Intan, Golday, Chaplin Gang T, Bhengal, Gogat, Topaz Atas, and

Topaz Bawah. The enemies in the cluster of Gogat are Kota Paris, Galur, Madesu, Bhengal and Gembrong. Finally, the enemies in the cluster of Gembal are PBR, KR2, Gang T, Pantai, and Kramjay.

From the above sociogram, we can see that the rivalry network does not occur in one *kelurahan* but also across *kelurahan*. For example, the enemies of Gembrong not only come from Kampung Rawa but also Galur. Moreover, the enemies of Gogat not only come from Kampung Rawa but also Tanah Tinggi and Galur. It also occurs for Gang T and Gembal.

The characteristics of the networks are calculated on UCINET 6.678 software (Table 1). Despite Gembrong's size (8) is the largest but its ego density is only 10.71. The cluster of Gang T has a size of 6 and its density is only 13.33. The cluster of Gogat and Gemval has each size of 5 but each density is 20. It differs from Johtet and Topaz Bawah with a small size of 2 but each density reaches 100%. It indicates the rivalries that Gembrong build tends to be weak. In other words, there is no eternal enemy from Gembrong. However, in some cases, Gembrong has eternal rivalries for two groups, i.e. Intan and Golday. Otherwise, it does not prevail for the rivalries of Johtet and Topaz Bawah. The rivalries of the two groups are relatively high because they frequently make conflicts harder. Johtet has the eternal enemy of Kramjay and Topaz Bawah with Intan.

Table 1. Characteristics of rivalry networks in some groups

Groups	Size	Ties	Density (%)	Diameter	Closure
Gembrong	8	6	10.71		0.10
Gang T	6	4	13.33		0.13
Gogat	5	4	20.00		0.20
Gemval	5	4	20.00		0.10
PBR	3	4	66.67	2.00	0.30
Bhengal	3	4	66.67	2.00	0.66
Topaz Bawah	2	2	100.00	1.00	1.00
Johtet	2	2	100.00	1.00	1.00

Source: Research results (2019)

Based on the calculation in Table 1 above, the network closure in the four major rivalry clusters can be stated as small, i.e. 0.1, 0.13, 0.2, and 0.1 for the cluster of Gembrong, Gang T, Gogat, and Gemval consecutively. Rogers and Kincaid (Eriyanto 2014) have stated that there are two extreme points of the network integration, i.e. interlocking and radial networks. In the interlocking networks, the value is 1, and alters interact with one another, the characteristics of the egos and alters interact with each other. All alter and egos interact with each other. In the radial network, the value is 0. The characteristic is that alter do not interact with each other, and alter only interact with the egos.

As referring to the calculation of the network closure, the cluster of Gembrong, Gang T, Gogat, and Gemval can be stated that the rivalry network is radial. In the cluster of Gembrong, the hostile alters are between Topaz Bawah and Intan, between Golday and Gang T, and between Gogat and Bhengal. In the

cluster of Gang T, the hostile alters are between PBR and Gemval and between Golday and Gembrong. In the cluster of Gogat, the hostile alters are between Bhengal and Gembrong, and between Ghengal and Kota Paris. Moreover, in the cluster of Gemval, the hostile alters are between Kramjay and PBR and between PBR and Gang T. It can mean that the hostility between the egos and alters in the clusters is not eternal and it bases on some causes, such as revenge, miscommunication and the economic territorial relations (Golday vs Gembrong). The relations fight over the economic resources in Gembrong market which remains under the control of Gembrong. The economic resources are in kind of fees from illegal parking services or street vendor stalls.

Concerning the rivalry, informant AL states:

"We do not always consider our neighbors as enemies. However, if there is a brawl, hostility appears. However, if it occurs it is because someone starts it first."

Concerning the rivalry as well, the informant RD states:

"All of them are friends, and we do not consider them as enemies. However, if someone starts to harass at first, they are our enemies."

In contrast to the four major clusters, the network closure value for Topaz Bawah and Johtet approaches 1. It means that the rivalry network between Topaz Bawah and Johtet is

interlocking. All alter with egos are mortal enemies. Johtet and Bonawi are enemy one another. Bonawi and Kramjay are enemy one another. It also occurs between Johtet and Kramjay. The same thing can be found in Topaz Bawah. Topaz Bawah and Intan are enemies each other. Intan and Gembrong are enemies one another and it also prevails to Topaz Bawah. Informant HP admits it as follows:

"From the first, Johtet and Kramat are enemy one another. There are efforts to reconciling them. However, they do not change. They are mortal enemies. "

Instead of network density and closure, another parameter to knowing the network integration is connectivity (Everett & Borgatti, 2005). The network connectivity is usually known after calculating the structure gap. Based on the data of the structure gap (Table 2), it indicates that Gembrong has an effective size of 7.25, the efficiency of 0.906, and an obstacle of 0.242. Another cluster is Gang T with an effective size of 5.33, efficiency of 0.889 and, obstacle of 0.242. The cluster of Gogat and Gemval has an effective size, efficiency, and obstacle of 4.20, 0.840, and 0.382 consecutively.

Table 2. Structural gap of rivalry network in some groups

Groups	Effect ive Size	Effici ency	Obsta cles
Gembrong	7.25	0.906	0.242

Gang T	5.33	0.889	0.306
Gogat	4.20	0.840	0.382
Gemval	4.20	0.840	0.382
Golday	3.50	0.875	0.406
Kota	3.50	0.875	0.406
Paris			
Gang 10	3.50	0.875	0.406
Intan	2.33	0.778	0.611

Source: Research results (2019)

Burt (in Eriyanto, 2014) defines the structural gaps as empty spaces between social structures. These appear when an actor has no ties to other actors. In other words, the egos gain benefits when alters do not interact with one another. Based on the data in Table 2, Gembrong occupies a structural gap, and it indicates that in a rivalry network, the group can control the network. Gembrong can make enemies with any group for its benefits.

The research results indicate that the four clusters in the rivalry network have low density. This is in line with the research of Descormiers & Morselli (2011) who shows that low density is interpreted as a non-cohesive intergroup rivalry network. The research of McGloin(2005) also shows that the cohesiveness of intergroup rivalry networks tends to be low, so it indicates that there is no lasting hostility in the intergroup networks.

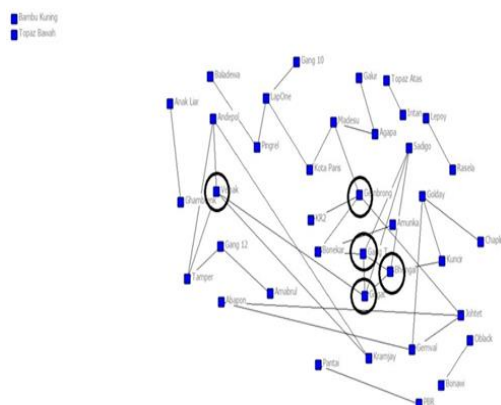
The research results at least confirm the findings of Radil, Flint, & Tita (2010). They show that social network analytical techniques can simplify complex and multidimensional network structures that arise from the intergroup interactions of different spatial networks. The uses of network analysis can at least evaluate the role

of certain actors in a network. Furthermore, these findings reinforce the research results of Mauliate et al., (2014) regarding the intergroup rivalry. Radil et al., (2010) state that the spatial analysis (geography) and network analysis is a strong combination to determine the patterns and structures of the bonds established in a social relationship.

The intergroup rivalry gives rise to alliances. The groups that frequently brawl in Johar Baru Sub District make an alliance with one another as a strategy to break opponents or win the brawls. The alliance can be interpreted as sharing information about an opponent or getting help. This support can be in a kind of resource intake (for example, members of other groups) or logistics for brawls (for example firecrackers, Molotov cocktails, stones, and others).

The sociogram of the alliance networks (Figure 2) shows the activities of sharing information and alliances between the groups. Just like the rivalry network, the alliance network also has a minor. In the alliance network, there are only two groups isolated, i.e. Topaz Bawah and Bambu Kuning. Therefore, Bambu Kuning is the only group that has no enemy or alliance.

Figure 2. The sociogram of alliance networks



Source: Research results (2019)

If in the rivalry network, Topaz Bawah has some enemies, i.e. Gembrong and Intan, in the alliance network, the group becomes isolate. In other words, when encountering Gembrong or Intan, Topaz Bawah does not need help from other groups. The territorial closeness of Topaz Bawah with Gembrong and Intan is a reason why the group does not have an alliance. A different thing is found in Sadigo. The group has no enemy in the rival network, but it makes alliance with Gang T, Bhengal and Gogat. Concerning this matter, Informant ER states:

"Regarding Sadigo it has no enemy. If you are a friend because you are close, they are all close. However, it does not mean that if there is a brawl we help. We are just friends."

Based on the sociogram, five

main clusters of the alliance network are established, i.e. the cluster of Gembrong, Velbak, Gang T, Gogat, and Bhengal. Moreover, Velbak and Bhengal, Gembrong, Gang T, and Gogat are also the main clusters of the rivalry network. The alters in the cluster of Gembrong are KR2, Bonekar, Johtet, and Madesu. The alters in the cluster of Velbak are Tamper, Andepol, Kramjay, and Gogat. The alters in the cluster of Gang T are Bonekar, Gogat, Bhengal, and Sadigo. The alters in the cluster of Gogat are Velbak, Gang T, Bhengal, and Sadigo. Finally, the alters in the cluster of Bhengal are Gogat, Gang T, Sadigo, and Kunci. The sociogram also shows that almost all groups have alliances with at least one other group, particularly those that are territorially close, for example, Ghambrenk with Anak Liar, Topaz Atas with Intan, Lepoy with Rasela, Oblack with Bonawi, and Pantai with PBR. It also prevails for the area of *kelurahan*, the alliance is not only for groups in one *kelurahan*, but also across *kelurahan*, for example, Velbak located in *Kelurahan Tanah Tinggi*, has alliance with Kramjay in Johar Baru and Gogat in *Kelurahan Kampung Rawa*. It also prevails for, Gembrong located in *Kelurahan Kampung Rawa*. It has an alliance with Johtet in *Kelurahan Johar Baru*. The interesting thing about this sociogram is that despite Gembrong and Gang T are mortal enemies, Bonekar has an alliance with Gembrong and Gang T. Regarding this matter, Informant ER states:

"So what! They are neighbors. However, if both groups are fighting, we will back off."

The calculation results of the network characteristics (Table 3) show that the size of the five clusters is similar, i.e. 4. The difference lies in the density. The density of Gembrong is 0 and Velbak is 33.33. The density of Gogat, Gang T, and Bhengal is 50 consecutively. The biggest density (100) is actually in the hand of Kramjay and Sadigo. Kramjay builds an alliance with Andepol and Velbak. Moreover, Sadigo builds an alliance with Bhengal and Gang T. This shows that the alliance built by the two groups is permanent. It differs from the alliance of Gang T, Gogat, Velbak, Bhengal or Gembrong. The alliance tends to be temporary or limited to a pseudo/fragile alliance.

Table 3. Characteristics of alliance network for some groups

Groups	Size	Ties	Density (%)	Diameter	Closure
Gembrong	4	0	0.00	-	0.00
Gang T	4	6	50.00	-	0.20
Gogat	4	6	50.00	-	0.20
Velbak	4	4	33.33	-	0.33
Bhengal	4	6	50.00	-	50.00
Andepol	3	4	66.67	2.00	66.67
Sadigo	3	6	100.00	1.00	100.00
Kramjaya	2	2	100.00	1.00	100.00

Source: Research results (2019)

The data of the network density and coverage above shows that the alliance built by the cluster of Gembrong, Gang T, Gogat, Velbak, and Bengal is radial. On the other hand, the alliance of Sadigo and Kramjay is interlocking. The radial

network indicates that the alliance tends to be not solid and pragmatic. With the low network density and closeness, the alliance is vulnerable to breaking. It is also the reason why Gembrong and Gang T, for example, forge an alliance with Bonekar, despite both of the group are in a rivalry network. It gets support from the explanation of informant AL:

"Yes, we are just looking for casual friends. It is not used or ordered for other purposes. If we help them it seldom occurs. The important thing is that we have friends from other groups at first."

Based on the calculation of the structural gap (Table 4), Gembrong has an effective size of 4, an efficiency of 1, and an obstacle of 0.25. Moreover, Gang T and Gogat have an effective size of 2.5, an efficiency of 0.625 and the obstacle of 0.583. Velbak has an effective size of 3, an efficiency of 0.75 and a resistance of 0.535.

Table 4. Structural gap of alliance network in some groups

Groups	Effective Size	Efficiency	Obstacles
Gembrong	4.0	1.000	0.250
Gang T	2.5	0.625	0.583
Gogat	2.5	0.625	0.583
Velbak	3.0	0.750	0.535
Bhengal	2.5	0.625	0.583
Andepol	1.6	0.556	0.840
Gemval	2.3	0.778	0.611
Johtet	2.3	0.778	0.611

Source: Research results (2019)

Referring to the indicator of the structure gap values above (large effective size and efficiency but small obstacle), it can be said that Gembrong takes the control. In other words, Gembrong can make and choose alliances with any group they want to gain benefits. The alliance choices take into account several aspects, including similarities within groups, such as territorial proximity and not be detrimental to the group. This was confirmed by informant HP whose group is allied with Gembrong confirms it:

"We are close to Gembrong. For example, if Kramjay attacks us, we will ask them for help easily. We just call or inform them if our children brawl. If it is the case, Gembrong definitely will send their help."

The research results indicate that the alliance network built by several groups tends to be fragile. It confirms the research of Descormiers & Morselli(2011) finding that the intergroup alliances — taking the landscape case of a street gang in Montreal, Canada — tend to be weak. The alliances only occur in the gangs with ethnic similarities, such as those from Asian or Hispanic ethnicity. On the other hand, the alliances with other groups are closely territorial but these are not possible due to the complexity of the intergroup interaction.

This research is also in line with the findings of Mauliate et al., 2014) stating that the intergroup alliance distance is usually quite close within the territory of *kelurahan*. This can happen not because of the existence

of strong friendship solidarity between groups, but this alliance is formed to defend the territory from attacks if the brawl gets bigger. The territorial basis on which the alliance between groups is based in this study is different from the findings of Starbuck, Howell, & Lindquist (2001) stating that the alliances are built on the basis of common gang activities, such as criminal acts.

As referring to the calculation data of the rivalry and alliance networks (network density and closeness as well as structural gap), it can be said that the communication network plays a role in intervening actors' ego in inviting individual group members to participate in the collective action in a kind of brawls. The participation occurs because it is established through social relations, in which the network acts as a reinforcer of that identity. Therefore, their participation in brawls gets stimulation from the actors' ego and it is an attempt of group members to identifying them with the groups they belong to.

Based on the analysis of the communication network, of all groups in Johar Baru Sub District, it can be concluded that Gembrong Group is the real 'boss'. This group can arrange with whom the alliance will be built, and it also can choose who its enemies. It becomes natural if Gembrong Group has the most enemies and is also capable of building alliances with any group.

The territory of Gembrong Group based around Gembrong Lama Market is an attraction for other groups to compete and cooperate in obtaining benefits in a kind of capital (economy) and others. Gembrong

Lama Market officially consists of 358 kiosks, and the market management is in the hand of Greater Jakarta Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises. However, there are a larger amount of unofficial stalls. These unofficial stalls are the economic source for Gembrong Group. In addition, the illegal parking lots around the market and on the street in front of the market have become its capital source of capital as well. By collecting fees from the stalls and the parking lots, Gembrong Group can have a large number of economic resources. This economic resource is being fought over, and therefore, it leads to hostilities and alliances with the group.

Gembrong Lama Market as the territory of Gembrong Group is crisscrossed with the territories of two adjacent groups, i.e. Golday and Intan. Therefore, the competition for economic resources around Gembrong Lama Market has resulted in the hereditary hostilities between Gembrong and Golday and Intan. On the other hand, efforts to obtain economic resource also occur from other groups around the territory of Gembrong Group, i.e. Madesu Group and the Kampung Rawa 2 Group (KR2). However, the way the groups choose is not with hostility, but carrying out cooperation/alliances. Therefore, Madesu and KR2 are 'the bodyguard' of Gembrong. Several other groups as the enemies of Gembrong, such Bhengal, Gang T, or Chaplin, only become the casual enemies because their territory does not cross. Moreover, other groups that have alliances with Gembrong, fall into the category of 'temporary' alliances. The rivalry and alliances are

definitely due to the 'friendship' relationships and no struggle for economic resources which is under the control of Gembrong Group.

According to Klein et al., (2006), territoriality is the main cause of rivalry that leads to conflicts and violence. This has been proven in street gangs in America and Europe. Fraser (2013) explains in detail the concept of territoriality in street gangs. According to Fraser, the concept of territoriality is defined as a geographic space that is static and maintained, and all activities carried out by a group depend on that territory. The center of the definition is the idea that the organized and cohesive groups have supremacy over territories in order to obtain economic and social resources.

This definition is precisely pinned to Gembrong Group. When controlling the territorial boundaries around Gembrong Lama Market, Gembrong has access to economic and social resources/social capital. This is in line with the viewpoint of Kintrea, Bannister, Pickering, Reid, & Suzuki (2008). The economic resources have been mentioned earlier, i.e. the fees collected from illegal street vendors/kiosks and parking lots. The social capital that Gembrong Group gets is profited because it has the support and trust of local people/community. The community feels that they get to benefit from the protection of Gembrong Group if there is an attack from another group. This can be analogous to the symbiosis of commensalism in biology. One group takes benefits while another group/party in a society is not disadvantaged. Therefore, as there are

other groups that try to control territory, residents' support makes Gembrong Group confident because the group is the ruler of the territory so it is its duty to defend it.

The research results show that there are no groups that have eternal enemies or friends. It bases on the calculation of low network density and closure. Therefore, the established communication network is not interlocking but a radial one. It is understandable that the groups do not have tendencies to make hostility with other groups in the long-range despite it can hold a grudge from the previous generation.

The complexity of intergroup interactions makes the rivalry and alliance network radial. This can be traced, for example, from the intergroup similarities and differences. Despite there are hostile with each other the majority of the groups cannot be abandoned that they are Jakmania, the fanatical supporter of Persija Football Club. However, despite there are Jakmania, there are group interests and these cannot be accommodated. Therefore, it leads to brawls with each other. Moreover, it shows that most of the groups are heirs from their village football clubs. So it has already been established and it makes rivalries or alliances not 'smooth'. Definitely from the inheritance of the football clubs, enemies emerge because they may be grudging. Or they become allies because their territorial interests are disturbed.

Despite the networks generally do not interlock each other, some actually have 100% density. It means that both rivalries and alliances can interlock. For example, the

relationship of Jotet-Bonawi-Kramjay, these groups are located both in Kawi-Kawi Bawah. In other words, each territory is close to each other, but each group is eternal enemies. It also prevails to the relationship of Topaz Bawah-Inta-Gembrong. They are old enemies and each is difficult to ally with each other.

Similar conditions are found in the alliance network. The relationship of Kramjay-Velbak-Andepol establishes the interlocking network. It means that they are eternal allies and they will help the others if the hostile group attacks one of them. It is also found in the relationship of Sadigo-Gang T-Bonekar. These groups have become a "comrade".

An interesting research finding relates to the emergence of Gembrong group as 'real boss' in the intergroup arena. As a structural gap in the network of rivalries and alliances, Gembrong can manage which groups to be their enemies and which groups to be their allies. The reason behind the finding is definitely due to Gembrong's strategic position. This group is in the territory of Gembrong Lama market. It controls illegal stall network as its 'ration money'. Therefore, the group has large capital resources. Moreover, some of the illegal parking lots are under the control of the group - and it triggers the eternal clash between Gembrong and Intan. This reinforces the hypothesis of Tadie (2009) that the market is the territorial control center of the streets.

CONCLUSION

The network analysis shows that the intergroup rivalries are not interlocking. This is due to low network density and coverage, so there is no permanent enemy for the groups in Johar Baru Sub-District. It is also shown in the alliance network. However, the use of the network analysis method can increase spatial analysis in mapping the rivalry and alliance. Based on the data calculated from the rivalry and alliance networks (network density and closure as well as structural gaps) from all groups in Johar Baru Sub-District, it is concluded that Gembrong is the real 'boss'. This group can arrange whether it builds an alliance with one group or another. It also can select whether one group can be its enemy/rival or not. Therefore, Gembrong is the group with the most enemies and being able to build alliances with others. It controls the territorial boundaries around Pasar Gembrong Lama, it has access to economic and social resources or social capital. As Gembrong emerges as "the ruler", it indicates the group's strategic position as 'the ringleader of the brawls in Johar Baru Sub-District. It is useful if the group is able to be a mediator to reconcile the warring groups, it is Gembrong. The authority must approach the group at first.

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